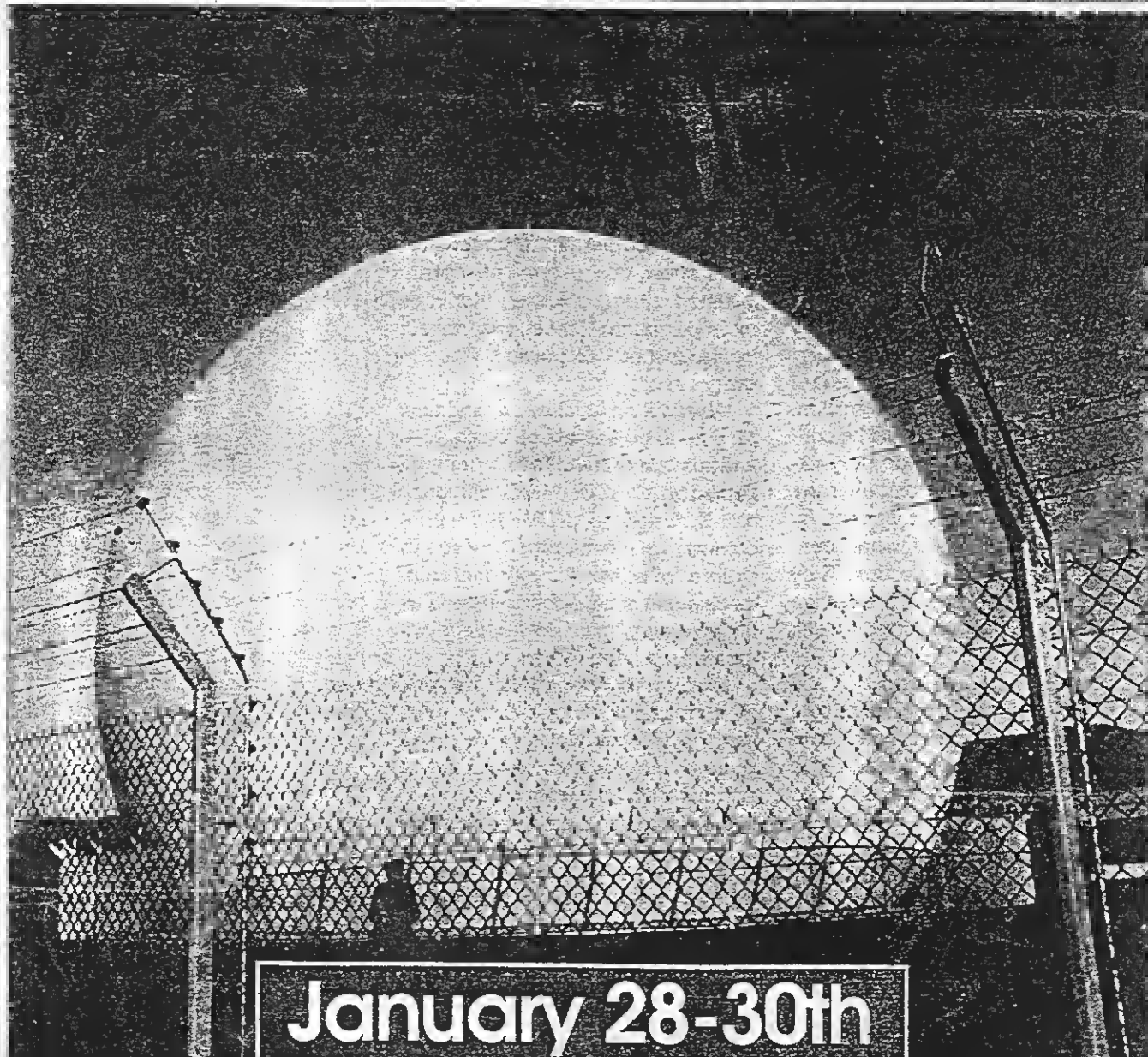


Aotearoa Youth Network



January 28-30th

WAIHOPAI DEMO

WOMEN'S CAMP
December 30th-January 7th

ELECTRICORPSE—ANOTHER POWER STATION HORROR STORY

AS THE COFFIN LID ON THE MASSIVE Ngakawau Dam proposal is almost closed, "Electricorpse" is ensuring that Power Madness goes on with its entrenched pursuit of the Clyde-sized gas power station at Stratford. Summer will have to be a highly visible electrical storm if it's going to be stopped. But the most immediate thing is sending a short, quick submission to Taranaki Regional Council by 13 December.

Send shivers up the spine of new politicians by getting stickers, information and "messages" out onto the streets to back up regional and national calls for a halt to the station. Energy and CO2 look like being very active campaigns now and in 1994. Unless of course Electricorp (now sanitised to "ECNZ") radically changes its self-serving behaviour.

The Stratford proposal is a case in point. Knowing the \$400 million, 400MW power station would be controversial, Electricorp crudely attempted to evade scrutiny over the application for pollution permits by approaching the local Regional Council the day before the election. They wanted public notification on election day itself. As it was it occurred a week later.

Electricorp has to apply to the Taranaki Regional Council under the Resource Management Act for consents to discharge pollution and give 20 working days for the public to make submissions on whether they approve or object to the application. Those submissions, the public only real opportunity to have a say, must be in at the Regional Council by December 13.

It shouldn't go ahead: it will produce around 1.5 million tonnes of CO2 (increasing New Zealand's emissions by nearly 6%) and we don't even need it. It's also really an issue of national significance and should be dealt with by central government. At the moment the Beehive is leaving regional government to mop up the mess left because of the lack of any national energy efficiency or CO2 strategies. And we're headed for more international embarrassment as "clean, green New Zealand" once

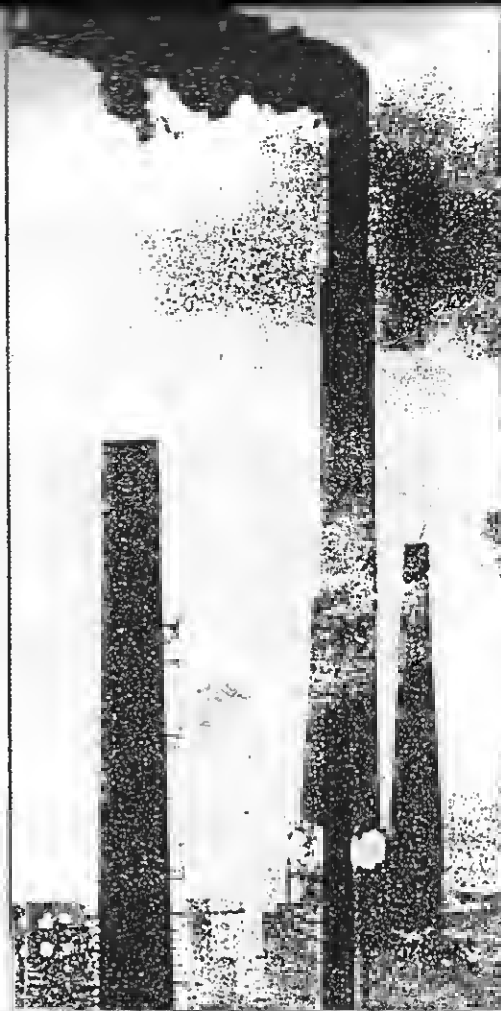
again fails its own credentials.

Locally and regionally in New Zealand we'll be left to fork out for Electricorp's decisions. Already the country has the sharpest increase in the amount of energy used to produce a unit of GDP—staggeringly out of step with the rest of the industrialised world. And Electricorp are predicting up to 20% price hikes to pay for new power stations producing more energy when we're getting increasingly less for it.

There is not even the chance of much employment! Investing \$400 million plus annual fuel costs to produce 30 permanent jobs at the most is \$15 million per job. Overseas reports show that per million dollars invested, energy efficiency produces more permanent direct and indirect local jobs than new power stations in every case.

We did it on Ngakawau, and now it's time to do it again on Stratford—and this time permanently. It's only by getting an effective energy efficiency and CO2 strategy NOW and proper commercial development of clean sourced of power like wind and solar that we can avoid fighting expensive unnecessary new power developments on a case by case basis.

Labour, Alliance and New Zealand First all said in a pre-election questionnaire that they would oppose large scale new hydro and thermal power stations—it's now time to keep them to their word. Do the submission side of things—have your say officially,



but do the fun stuff too, let the public know this is an issue. Pauline Ngan (VEG) and others in Wellington are getting fliers and other things for a bit of street visibility together for stalls, posterings, slogans, etc. There's also loads of little yellow stickers that go over the queen's head on 50c coins to get the idea into "currency".

For more plotting and scheming: CO2, energy, power stations will be on the SEAN meeting agenda under all that solar energy in Nelson.

Send your submission to "The General Manager", Taranaki Regional Council, Private Bag 713, STRATFORD, and a copy to ECNZ, PO Box 930, WELLINGTON, Attn: M Wright, as well. You could ask the Regional Council to send you a form (or several) or write a short letter including the following information:

Name/Group, address, contact number. Say that you're responding to application "93/388-398" by "ECNZ".

You can say that you would like to object to the application to emit CO2 because it contributes to climate change and threatens the global environment. It's also an inefficient use of natural resources. Importantly, say that you think it's a national issue and should be dealt with by central government. You can point out there are alternatives: even Electricorp's own reports show that by reducing energy demand and increasing the use of waste heat (co-generation) we can avoid the need for any new power stations until after 2005.

Send a similar letter to your "new" local MP.

CHRISTCHURCH REGISTRY OCCUPATION

Between November 3 and 6, the top floor of the Canterbury University registry building was occupied by the Education Action Group. The occupation began when the academic council voted to increase fees and lasted until noon on election day.

Groundwork for the protest began at the previous registry meeting when students packed the council chambers and helped gain a hardship fund. The crucial November 3 meeting was to decide the level of fees in 1994. If government cuts to the Canterbury University budget were passed on to students fees would rocket from \$1300 to \$1900. The Canterbury EAG's position was that any fee was unacceptable and a fee increase doubly so.

The plan was simple. If the council rejected an amendment preventing fee increases, we would disrupt the meeting by chanting, "Can't pay, won't

pay!" This caused a slight panic amongst EAG members who ran off to barricade doors and seize lifts before realising it was a false alarm.

Now the question of what to do next arose. We debated several points - were the barricades needlessly provocative? Should the registrar and staff be allowed to come back to work? How likely was it that the police would burst in a bash our heads in?

After an anxious 24 hours and some tricky negotiations with the registrar and vice-chancellor, a understanding was reached. We got 24 hour access in and out of the building, continued use of fax and phones, and security staff were not allowed on the top floor. In return we let the registrar and staff back to work, returned the lifts and removed the barricades.

After all the stress it was time to have some fun. Some people took time off over the next two days to see

the 30s and to go to a Guy Fawkes celebration across the road. The final departure was on Saturday.

The Christchurch occupation was a good starting point. The publicity was excellent and won a lot of support for the education campaign. We received faxes of support from outfits as diverse as CORSO and an Air Force Squadron!

Students must win support from the working class and the unemployed if the education campaign is to succeed. Students need this support in order to put serious pressure on the state. The only way we are going to win free tertiary education is by compelling the state to cough up.

The Canterbury EAG made steps in this direction with slogans such as "A living allowance for all" and by involving unemployed organisations in the protest.

In 1994 a nation-wide free education campaign is needed. Education Action Groups from every campus need to co-ordinate their work and broaden the movement.

—Adam Day

WAIHOPAI

Public attention has recently been brought to New Zealand's intelligence links with the United States. Through the US Freedom of Information Act, Peter Wills uncovered a document which referred to the passing on of intelligence information gathered in New Zealand to the United States. The New Zealand Government has repeatedly denied Waihopai and Tangimoana Stations role in the international intelligence networks.

Though this has been long recognised by the peace movement, Peter Will's discovery is the first official confirmation that these money guzzling bases are spying for the United States.

Waihopai, near Blenheim, a telecommunications satellite station, and Tangimoana, a radio station near Palmerston North, are run by the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) which has an estimated budget of \$20 million a year.

There are two protest camps happening at Waihopai in the near future. A women's camp will be held from December the 30th 1993 to January the 7th 1994. This camp is a continuation of a long tradition of women at Waihopai. Initially, Greenham inspired, and intended to be two weeks long, a women's camp existed opposite the base from between May and December 1988, and sporadi-

cally further down the valley, until the final three women and a baby left the camp in December 1989.

The women's camp aims to educate women about Waihopai and other activities of the GCSB. The camp will also be a forum to discuss peace issues, with a definition of peace that addresses Treaty issues, women's issues and the environment. As well as these activities organisers are aiming to have an action at the actual base every day of the camp. Organisers encourage women to see in the new year with a time of inspiration, discussion and action.

For further information, suggestions and registrations (see form below) contact: Billie-Jo and Cathy

60 Winton Street
Christchurch
Phone (03) 379 4205

or Maria
56 Holloway Road
Wellington

There will be a mixed protest camp at Waihopai between 6.00pm, January 28 and midday January 30th. If you would like more information about the mixed camp contact Anti Bases Campaign, PO BOX 2258, Christchurch.

—Maria McMillan



PUPIL POWER

YOU MAY HAVE HEARD... Taita College, a small school away in the Hut Valley was practically closed down as the large part of its student population marched to Parliament demanding to see the Minister.

It started with the announced redundancy of the school guidance counsellor. Bulk-funded Taita College was being funded less for 1994. All the concerns that the teacher unions have expressed about bulk-funding of teachers' salaries came true, and a teaching job was cut.

Naturally, an arguably non "core" position like guidance counsellor will always be first to go. This was despite the fact that this particular teacher's work was highly valued by both the students and the local community who recognised her excellent work with "at risk" children. It was also despite all the local and international evidence which suggests that without the level of self-esteem that such a person can install in a young person, all other teaching is wasted.

Not everyone felt completely powerless. One student, who felt that her own ability to get the formal education our society values so highly was dramatically enhanced by the work of this particular teacher, was not going to sit back and take it. She organised the students to express their discontent.

That is how it all began, almost 90% of the school's students gathered on the playing field, refusing to attend form class, demanding that the school's bosses explain what was going on, and that this popular teacher stay on.

The school's management team wouldn't meet with the massed students. With words reminiscent of the nations' political bosses they preferred to meet with a "delegation". They claimed the situation was "not conducive to rational discussion", and that nothing could be accomplished while students wouldn't concede that it was

the senior staff who were in authority here. Students, recognising their powerlessness if the "management team" could isolate leaders and crack down on them, and understanding that they all deserved to hear the explanation, refused. Eventually a meeting was arranged in the school assembly hall, a different location so the school's representatives could claim that this one was "conducive to rational discussion", and yet still one that all the students could attend.

The school claimed that it was the Government's fault - there was simply not enough money to go around. A very clear parallel with tertiary education was obvious, the buck passing between the State and the tertiary

"The student who got everyone agitated over the issue was suspended for three days."

institutions being mirrored under the bulk-funded secondary school system. On inquiry Lockwood Smith's office naturally said it was the school's problem: the school was given the money and it could choose to spend it as it wished.

Unsatisfied, the tension amongst the students was high. It was suggested that a delegation of them should go to Parliament. The management team had given up trying to justify themselves, but the focus had shifted to the Government. Someone yelled out that everyone who wanted to go to Parliament should march off now, of a school of 524 nearly 300 did. It was only trimmed to that amount by organisers trying to limit participation to those who knew what was

going on and understood the issues. Some of the student leaders wanted to back down at this stage, but others showed true leadership - enabling the student will to be enacted through action.

Money was pooled at the train station and they crammed on board, many having to wait until the next train. When the students arrived at the central Wellington station there was a welcoming party of reporters. Police presence was limited, and unlike at the activities of more senior students, not unruly.

The students piled into the covered entrance of the Beehive. "We want Lockwood!" they told the security guards. Some time passed and then the bemused director of security asked if they had an appointment. They explained the situation, including that there was a large number of very agitated young people who weren't just going to go away, and some of the students were allowed access to the Minister's office. Naturally enough, he wasn't there. His staff tried to explain the funding mechanisms. The students, impressed though they were with the complexity of the situation, couldn't see much past the fact that their school was losing funding (but not students) and consequently one of the most popular and valuable teachers. They arranged a later meeting with Lockwood and marched off back to school.

The students who went to see the Minister of Education felt they got a fair hearing. Lockwood told them how, since the recovery was coming, his dream of a wonderful education system would be in place by 1996. They had more than an hour of his time.

When the delegation reported back to those they represented they got a good response. The students were happy that they had got to complain to the Minister himself, they were happy that the shocking story had got into the media (just before the election), they felt that they had achieved something and that they hadn't just stood back and done nothing, that they cared and put their feelings into action.

It hasn't all been rosy back at Taita College. All the pupils who stood up for their school got a one hour detention, "with the threat of further discipline if this detention was not at-

tended", and some subtle pressure has been exerted on student representatives. It is estimated that the (supposedly cash-strapped) school spent up to \$1000 on this reasserting of its authority. Perhaps the most insidious reprisal though, the student who got everyone agitated over the issue was suspended for three days. Unlike all other suspensions this did not go to the Board of Trustees' Discipline Committee. It was for an "offence" normally dealt with far less extravagantly, and the letter sent to her parents referred obliquely to the incident.

The most important thing that has happened is that effectively the whole school population has been empowered by their own action to recognise the power they have as individuals, acting collectively. They have learnt that by being prepared to not just stand back and do nothing, they can have a effect on the way the world is that their authority-wielding elders could not. The senior students will be moving on to further study or into the workforce, they will continue to remember the importance and influence of mass action, they would never have got the ear of the Minister without it. Other students will be remaining at college. This episode suggests that, if they continue to be prepared to stand up for what they believe in, then Taita College could well be the hot bed of young people's radicalism, for some time to come.

Alistair Shaw

Thanks to the students of Taita College who made this story possible.

THAT DAMN DAM...

On the 8 October, the company behind the Ngakawau Dam proposal began a challenge of the Conservation Minister's right to deny land for the project.

Downer and Company and Buller Electricity together are called Hydro Power Ltd.

They have taken Denis Marshall to the High Court because in August this year he announced he would not allow Conservation Department fund for the hydro-dam which would flood 200 ha. of native forest.

In August, Hydro Power Ltd management claimed Mr Marshall's decision went against the 1986 West Coast Forests Accord, which does include clause 8.2, which looks at economic benefits of "hydro-potential" weighed against "values seen for reservation".

It is not yet known as to whether Hydro Power Ltd are in fact challenging the Conservation Minister on the grounds of the 1986 Accord.

As early as January this year though, it was noted in national news that the North West Nelson National Park was hoped to be approved by June. The park's intended boundaries clash with the 100km network of tunnels designed to feed the dam.

A National park also disallows hydro-structures, unless the park is cancelled by an Act of Parliament. The North West Nelson National Park has not yet been approved though. It is therefore possible that the Minister is being challenged because a decision was made on the dam proposal, before the status of the area was decided.

The case was still open and the review ongoing on the 23 October.

-J. Warmington

Civilian based defence is a system of national defence which relies on the deterrence and defence capability of non-violent action rather than traditional military capability. As such it is a natural extension of the non-violent direct action that is such an important part of the extra-parliamentary people's movement.

It achieves this defence by the application of both massive widespread non-violent defiance, and selective non-cooperation. This action is spread across the entire population. Wherever the population comes into contact with the invader, civilian based defence has a role. Strikes, sabotage, protests, international pressure, simply explaining to the occupying troops that they are not wanted, long term occupation would be not be viable.

Civilian based defence is a truly defensive strategy. It removes the offensive capability of our present military defence. A country with a civilian based defence would not be in a position to threaten another country (thus removing the potential excuses for pre-emptive invasion or nuclear attack) while it would have a strong and credible defence to counter any threat made against it.

The first objective of civilian based defence is to build unity within the population, and to show the level of opposition to the invader. With this unity the population would act to deny the invader the benefits of occupation. Such activity would aim to increase the political and financial costs of the invasion to the occupier, until they recognised it wasn't going to be worth it to stay, and left.

The precise details of any strategy would be determined by the particular nature of the threat presented.

The Association for Transarmament (transarmament - is the process of moving from military based defence to civilian based defence) was formed to promote civilian based defence and transarmament as options for Aotearoa. If you want further information then write to them c/- 351 Manchester St, Christchurch.

"What attracts me about anarchism personally are the tendencies in it to try to come to grips with the problem of dealing with complex organised industrial societies within a framework of free institutions and structures"

- Noam Chomsky

The Committee for the Establishment of Civilisation, Wellington section of the Anarchist Alliance of Aotearoa has just produced a pamphlet in which US radical Noam Chomsky discusses anarchism, marxism, modern society and the task of the radical activist. To receive a copy, send two dollars to:

C.E.C.

P O-Box 14-156,
Kilbirnie,
Wellington.

"There are few realistic options, in the world as it exists, unless the population of the major powers reaches a level of civilization transcending anything we now see and restrains the violence of the states that dominate the international system."

- Noam Chomsky

Joanita

Namuddu is a housewife, living in a semi-permanent house in Nakulabye [Uganda]. In addition to her badly charred, cracked palms (a sign of hard manual work) is a freshly bruised face covered with scars, scabs and age lines. By appearance one would put her at 35, yet she is only 25. Namuddu is just one of thousands of helpless housewives in Uganda, who are forced to endure years of battering by their husbands, in an apparently hopeless environment - their cries, screams and mouns go unheard; the echoes of the stony walls of their houses are probably the only replies they ever get. Society seems to have tuned a deaf ear.

Wife battering is probably as old as the institution of marriage itself. For centuries, husbands have beaten, mutilated and maimed their wives for different reasons ranging from a late cup of tea to infidelity. Probably more shocking, is the fact that many if not most of these women painfully endure such mistreatment without complaint.

But why are wives battered? According to Namuddu, her husband is an alcoholic run amok. He is now so uncontrollable that whatever happens to her is only normal. Drunkenness is therefore, one reason why husbands lose control of themselves and unleash deadly terror on their wives.

The case of Rose Ochan is more contentious. To her, someone else is to blame. Rose is a highly educated mother of two, residing in Mbuya. She blames her mistreatment on the state! "My husband" she says, "is merely a frustrated man and irritable ever since he was laid off his job. Over the months he has become extremely hostile."

To Rose, her husband has a lot of pent-up anger as a result of the poverty he is going through and can only let it out on her. "I know he doesn't mean it. He apologises every time he

"I WOULD RATHER BE BATTERED"

beats me," she pleads.

The scar running down her left cheek tells a different story though, the husband having thrown a saucepan at her. During this interview, she was trying to nurse a reddened eye using cold water and a face towel, a result of a recent blow.

Robert Wanyama of Kalerwe near Kampala sees things differently. "It is within a man's rights to beat his wife once in a while so that she is constantly reminded never to fool around."

George Ssentamu, a young graduate, says that there are instances when beating a woman is justifiable. "What do you do with a wife who sleeps around?" He conveniently termed it panel beating.

Aida Mbabazi's story is an example of endurance. She is a desperate 40-year-old mother of six. "There is no more love between me and my husband. Probably that is why he beats me. I cannot go anywhere else because I am old now. He is the sole breadwinner, and what would happen to my young children if I went away?" she asks. Her husband has apparently recently acquired a new, much younger girl, as a second wife.

In Uganda the reason why some women endure such beatings is be-

cause traditional marital customs are so tight and greatly discriminate against

women. For instance divorce by a woman though usual, is still regarded as taboo. Surprisingly enough, in some areas, women who run away from their husbands are squarely held responsible and heavily reprimanded for their failures.

Malyamu Mukasa had been married for five years a period of absolute nightmares, characterised by battering. When she finally ran away, back to her family, she was rebuked by her father. Her husband threatened to claim the bride-price he had paid for her. Under a lot of stress and duress, she went back to her husband. She has been hospitalised twice since then with bad wounds and cuts and her body is visibly badly mutilated. Interestingly though, it is the husband who pays the hospital bills, and always takes her home gladly - to beat. (Of course a pudding bag needs stitching too!)

Enid Okit's case dispels any argument that only traditional customs inhibit the right of a wife to separate from her husband. She is a devoted catholic who believes that divorce is a greater sin than her husband's harshness. "My children have a right to a father at whatever cost. I have no right to deny them that," she adds.

- Irene Bazalaki, *ARISE Jan-June Issue 1993, Uganda.*

Training Camps the answer says Wellington AYN

One idea that has been floated by AYN members around the country is a week long activist training camp. This idea was discussed further at the first Wellington AYN meeting. Group members stressed the importance of young people training others in techniques necessary for active campaigning.

"Too often the process of empowering people is ignored by lobby groups and one or two people become known as the experts on a particular issue or campaign", says group member Maria McMillan.

"We want to disperse skills among

as wide a section of the population as possible. It would be good to see people examine, acknowledge and work to change issues of gender and race discrimination that often emerge during a campaign", she said.

The training week is likely to take place in the 1994 May School Holidays. Write and let the network know if you would be interested in, or approve of the idea of a training camp which would involve media skills, protest organisation, facilitation and non-violent action with a strong practical component.

THE WAR AGAINST DEMOCRACY, which replaced the cold war, had a notable success in Moscow last month. The promoters of the totalitarian "market" accelerated their assault on the lives of millions of ordinary people with the destruction of arguably the second freely elected parliament in 1000 years of Russian history. Boris Yeltsin, the former Communist Party boss of Sverdlovsk, a position he used to oppose basic democratic rights, brought troops and tanks into the heart of his Russian "democracy" and allowed them to murder the elected representatives of the people. He could have been a Pinochet or a Somoza. John Major, for his part, said he admired Yeltsin's "restraint".

The BBC, ever conscious of its "impartiality", has led the propaganda barrage, constantly referring to Yeltsin's draconian methods as "reforms" and his parliamentary opponents as "hardliners" and "extremists". Boris the Good, on the other hand, is "the democrat whose patience finally snapped": such a generous description of a man whose troops had just burned the nation's parliament. (Imagine a BBC report from Berlin in 1933: "The Reichstag was burned down after Herr Hitler's patience snapped.")

Since Yeltsin discovered democracy under Gorbachev, he has played to the western media gallery, whose reporting of his rise has helped to sustain him in power. With his American advisers and with American presidents propping him up, here, after 75 years, was a dictator who could deliver the Russian hinterland to foreign capital.

The necessary media mythology quickly followed. This summer, it has been Yeltsin versus the "hardline communist" parliament. In fact the parliament was neither undemocratic, nor run by so-called hardliners. All the deputies were elected in multi-candidate contests. Like Yeltsin himself, the majority were ex-communist; but most of them were, until recently, Yeltsin supporters. They elected him as the parliament's first chairman, passed the first constitutional amendments that launched his presidency and stood by him during the abortive coup of 1991 when the White House and its parliament was the very symbol of Russian democracy.

RUSSIA'S WAR AGAINST DEMOCRACY

"Far from defending democracy", wrote Renfrey Clarke, a Russian specialist who writes in Australia, "Yeltsin's coup was launched because democratic institutions were beginning to work. The system of checks and balances was functioning as intended, with the legislature and the judiciary curbing the ability of the president to continue implementing policies that had failed and had lost popular support. But instead of accepting that the other branches of government had the right to insist on a course of change, Yeltsin responded as a committed totalitarian."

The largely untold truth in the west is that Yeltsin has returned Russia to military Stalinism, that he is the hardliner, and that the blood spilt this week is the direct result of ruthlessly applied "market reforms" - the same reforms causing so much suffering in Britain [and New Zealand]. "Yeltsin's policies have met opposition", wrote Clarke, "not because the Russian parliament is dominated by conservatives - an absurd claim - but because these policies are both contrary to the interests of most Russians and deeply flawed. Few economic programmes have been so ill suited, and few have failed so comprehensively."

Under Yeltsin, Russian industrial output has collapsed to 60 per cent of the level of January 1990. Price rises amount to 2,600 percent. Real capital incomes have dropped to third world proportions, placing most Russians, who once enjoyed a certain social security, on par with Mexicans. This winter an estimated 60 million pensioners will be at risk, many of them from starvation.

On top of this, or to protect it, Yeltsin has undermined the new democratic institutions. In decree No

1400, he suspended the Constitutional Court, Russia's third arm of government. When the chairman of the court, Valery Zorkin, challenged the legality of this, his telephone was cut off on the personal order of the president. During last April's referendum campaign, the national television service was hijacked by Yeltsin, and then refused all but token airtime to the opposition candidates.

Last month he banned a swathe of opposition parties and newspapers with hardly a word of protest from Washington and London. When the Sandinistas briefly suspended an opposition newspaper, funded by the CIA, the American press made this a *cause célèbre*. The Sandinistas were not approved by Washington, Yeltsin is. Adding to the Orwellian lexicon, the *New York Times* describes his thuggery as a "democratic coup". He has now drained the promised December elections of all democratic substance; the millions who oppose his "reforms" will have no one to vote for.

This is all a vivid example of the war against democracy being waged around the world in the name of "global economy" and "development": the euphemisms for market imperialism. It is brought about by what has been described as an "economic holocaust" in the poorest nations where, according to UNICEF, half a million children die every year as a result of the imposition of IMF "structural adjustment" programmes. Unlike the "democratic coup" such suffering is seldom news in the west.

*John Pilger [abridged when
swiped from The New Statesman
& Society]*

THE MUCH DEBATED NEW CENSORSHIP LEGISLATION is now in place and will take effect in February of 1994. Women Against Pornography (WAP) have worked since the groups inception in 1983 for a replacement to the current outmoded, moralistic and haphazard legislation. While there are some exciting developments represented by the passing of the legislation into an Act, WAP is concerned that the new law will be largely ineffective.

The new act replaces moralist definitions of pornography which are concerned with sex and nudity with a definition that is feminist influenced and concerned with the harm caused by pornography. While this is a significant improvement, WAP believes the new definition does not go far enough. WAP's definition of pornography, according to the 1989 Ministerial Committee of Inquiry, best encapsulates public understanding of pornography. Our definition, included below, is far more comprehensive than the definition of objectionable material used in the new Act.

"Pornography is any form of material with sexual connotations (including verbal, pictorial, live shows, displays or written material) which involves the subordination of women which includes one or more of the following:

- a) Where women are presented in scenarios of degradation, injury, torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual.
- b) Material which incites hatred against women.
- c) Women are presented dehumanised as sexual objects, things or commodities.
- d) Women are presented as sexual objects who enjoy pain and humiliation.
- e) Women are presented as sexual objects who experience sexual pleasure in being raped.
- f) Women are presented as sexual objects tied up or cut up or mutilated or bruised or physically hurt.
- g) Women are presented as available to be terrorised or abused.
- h) Women's body parts - including but not limited to vagina's, breasts, or buttocks - are exhibited such that women are reduced to those parts
- i) Presents a stereotype that all women's lives are primarily focused on an imagined insatiable sexual appetite and that all women welcome any sexual advance of any nature.
- j) Women are presented as sexual objects with animals.

The use of men, children, or transsexuals in the place of women in any of the above is pornography for the purpose of this definition.

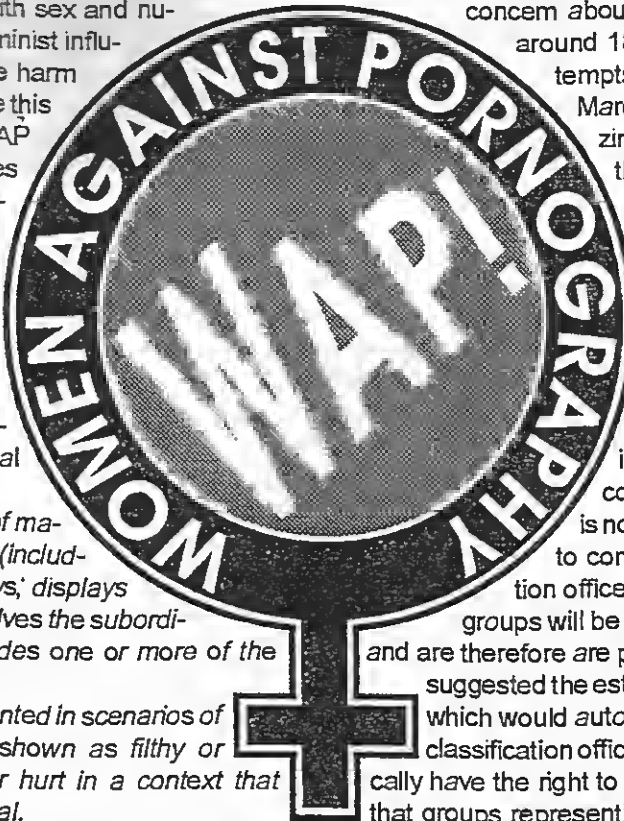
All those involved with the classification process are relieved that a set of three laws with different classification criteria is replaced with a single piece of legislation that deals with films, videos and publications. Unfortunately the government has excluded live shows, which, as

always, are flourishing in the time of economic recession. (It was, in part, the increasing prevalence of live shows in Christchurch that spurred women to form the Christchurch WAP.) Also excluded is computer pornography and broadcasting.

A classification and complaints procedure that is accessible to the public has been a major priority of WAP. The inadequacies of the present system were highlighted to WAP in one of its recent attempts to respond to public concern about pornographic material. It took around 18 months from WAP's initial attempts to make a complaint about a March 1992 issue of People magazine (which showed a woman on the cover on her hands and knees and in a dog collar) before a decision was made by the Indecent Publications Tribunal. Under the new legislation, costs associated with complaints still fall on the complainant and not on the distributors of pornography. The pornographers get fully informed at every stage of the complaints procedures while there is no reciprocal information provided to community groups. The classification office has the right to decide whether groups will be affected by a particular decision and are therefore are permitted to complain. WAP has suggested the establishment of a watchdog group which would automatically be kept informed of all classification office decisions and would automatically have the right to complain. WAP also suggested that groups representing those depicted in pornography should have a say in classification decisions regarding that material. For example, new mothers' support groups would have a say in decisions regarding material depicting lactating women, gay men's groups in decisions regarding material depicting gay men, etc.

The chief censor, as has been pointed out by Joss Hannah (AYN Newsletter, August 1993) will be appointed by a joint decision of three cabinet ministers and while the lack of public input is certainly of concern, WAP believes that the situation is an improvement on current legislation where it was the decision of a single cabinet minister.

The possession clause is a victory to women's rights. In WAP's oral submission on the Censorship Bill to the Select Committee, a women spoke about how both she and later her daughter were abused as children and pornographic photos taken of this abuse. Under the current laws, distribution of that pornography, which is very hard to prove, is the only avenue of action available. The woman, despite knowing the location of copies of these photos, has no rights to reclaim or destroy the photos. The new law will mean that anyone found with the photos, regardless of whether they were, or can be proved to have been, involved in distribution, will be prosecuted. The new law, despite being the focus of extensive paranoia, will



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give police no more authority to search premises than they currently have access to on the grounds of searching for stolen property or illegal drugs.

WAP continues to believe that censorship is an important step in creating a safe environment for women. Women's right to free speech, and freedom from rape and abuse are ridiculed in a society which condones pornography.

WAP works in a number of ways to achieve a safe environment for women. We are currently calling for an 18 month review of the Censorship Act to assess its effectiveness. We are also involved in research; we are currently compiling a nationwide database of women-friendly shops, ie, shops which don't sell pornography. Additionally we are involved with public education, through workshops, lectures, and articles and lobbying.

Direct action is also a tactic used by WAP to the great indignation of pro-porn men. At a recent protest outside a Penthouse Pet show at a Newtown pub, WAP members were videotaped by the pub manager, and hosed down by friends of the manager. In response to WAP's concerns about the links between pornography and rape, the queue of men cheered, asked WAP members what they were doing after the show. The sense of brotherhood in this particular culture stemmed entirely from a jubilant sense of rebellion firmly entrenched in celebrating female degradation.

If you are concerned about violence against women, and you are interested in working with us to eliminate one of the causes and results of that violence, then contact WAP in Wellington or Christchurch and we can put you in touch with your local WAP group or help you start your own.

— Maria McMillan

Wanted - a Fulltime Paid Activist!

Peace Movement Aotearoa (PMA) requires a 30 hours a week Campaigns Co-ordinator/Office Administrator for its national office in Wellington.

The position is ideal for an enthusiastic and confident activist, keen to learn campaigning skills and take advantage of the opportunities that this "new era" of Aotearoa/New Zealand politics offers!

Applicants needn't be active in the peace movement presently but must have a commitment to peace issues and bi-culturalism.

The job which is stimulating and rewarding, requires basic office skills (including some financial) good communication skills and some travel around the country.

PMA serves as the national resource office for the peace movement in this country. Its roles are campaign co-ordination, research, peace education and networking with peace groups and associated organisations. Send a letter of application and a CV to Steve Dixon, PO Box 9314, Te Aro, Wellington. For further information phone/fax (04) 382 8129.

Applications close Monday 13 December 1993. Position available late December/January.

Sydney, parts of it, went on an orgy of celebration. The establishment press declared triumphantly, "Our Sydney wins games". Fireworks and parties burst into the night. Sydney had been given the challenge of hosting the first "green" Olympics.

One of the groups that has been a key part of Sydney's Olympic bid has been Greenpeace. It claims that the 2000 Olympics will set a new environmental framework for all future games which could lead to the development of healthier cities and clean technology.

But as the years leading up to the games pass, Sydney may find it has less to celebrate. The Olympic village and 80,000 capacity Olympic stadium planned for Homebush Bay will cost an estimated \$807 million. The total games budget is estimated at \$1392 million. This huge outlay is meant to be offset by revenue generated by the Olympics leaving a surplus of \$6 million from which we will all benefit. However, as a columnist for the Sydney Morning Herald - a paper which has unashamedly campaigned for the games - admitted, money directed towards the Olympics may starve public works of funds.

Greenpeace hopes that the 2000 Olympics will utilise the maximum amount of public transport. Funds for public transport, however, have been repeatedly slashed by the Fahey government, and the Olympics will almost certainly only further divert money away from public transport programmes that benefit all of NSW into developments like freeways that are more useful for the Olympics.

For the first "green" Olympics, scant attention has been paid to the environment surrounding the Olympic site. Already 60 large trees, including 6 Morton Bay figs over 100 years old, have been destroyed to clear the access to the site. Furthermore, Homebush Bay is home to a large number of protected migratory birds whose habitats can only be adversely affected by the thousands of spectators, tourists, athletes, cars, buses, taxis and TV crews cramming into the Olympic village. If protecting the environment was a major concern of the organisers, protecting Homebush Bay and regenerating the mangroves at the edge of the river would be a more productive activity.

Greenpeace hopes that the games will be useful for developing environmentally sound housing. As Lynette Thorstensen, the executive officer of Greenpeace, puts it, "This is a unique opportunity for the NSW Government to lead the nation towards affordable, non-polluting and energy-efficient housing and development".

The question is, however, who will benefit from these housing developments? Only the few who can afford to move into them once the Olympics are over. For the majority of the people who don't own their own homes, the Olympics will only increase their rent.

Calling the Olympics "green" is playing with the term. The business may bring millions of dollars to Australian business and to the government and short-term employment for some, but for the majority of the people of New South Wales they will bring traffic congestion, higher rent, disruption and environmental damage.

Sam Wainwright, National Co-ordinator
Environmental Youth Alliance
Reprinted from Green Left Weekly

ISSUES FACING YOUNG GAYS AND LESBIANS IN EDUCATION

IMAGINE THAT YOU ARE A TEENAGER. You recognise that you are not heterosexual. You feel that you do not fit and that other students have begun to notice and harass you. Your friends start to question their relationship with you, they become interested in the opposite sex and you feel left out. Although you feel you have a good relationship with your parents you realise that this is not a topic you can discuss with them. You would like to approach a school counsellor or trusted teacher but cannot be sure that what you say will remain confidential. What do you do, who do you talk to and how do you locate relevant information?

This profile raises a number of important issues confronting young lesbians and gay men in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The first of these is the degree of isolation experienced by youth in the early stages of identifying and affirming their lesbian and gay sexuality. This process is called "coming out" and involves several stages, as we become more accepting of ourselves as wonderful and talented human beings.

The isolation experience, the feelings of being the "only one" can be devastating in terms of self-esteem and positive self-image. It raises the question of how a young gay or lesbian can make contact with and receive information from others who feel the same way, without exposing themselves to unnecessary negative reactions from their peer groups and immediate community?

Closely related to the issue of isolation is the invisibility of gay and lesbian people and resources in our schools and communities. There is little recognition within the school curriculum of the contribution that lesbian and gay people have made to: history, scientific research, literature, art, economics, etc., and if mentioned, their sexuality remains hidden. Libraries cannot be relied upon to stock a range of appropriate, positive and informative material that addresses the needs of young lesbians and gays. Gay and lesbian staff are not encouraged to "come out" at work and therefore students have no access to and are

unable to recognise possible positive adult role-models who are living full and satisfying lives.

These two factors; invisibility and isolation contribute to some disturbing evidence concerning gay and lesbian youth that has been researched overseas. A Federal health report in the United States in 1989 showed that young gays and lesbians between the ages of 15 and 24 were two to six times more likely to commit suicide. As well as this, gay and lesbian youth are more likely to suffer from alcohol and drug-related problems, foreshorten their high school careers and leave home early. Aotearoa/New Zealand has the highest rate of female suicide and the third highest level of male suicide in the developed world. There has been little research conducted to examine the reasons why this is so, however given the reported overseas experiences there is a likelihood that there is a connection between sexuality and suicide.

All of this raises the question of how we get gay and lesbian issues talked about and stop harassment. The Human Rights Commission Act Amendment 1993 comes into law on the 1 February 1994, and makes it illegal to discriminate on the grounds of a person's sexual orientation. This sounds great, but the challenge is how to convert this law into practice to enable communities and institutions to become gay and lesbian friendly. For this to be achieved, the Human Rights Commission will need to implement far-ranging community education programmes aimed at changing people's attitudes and behaviour. Only when this education campaign has successfully taken place will communities begin to meet the needs of lesbian and gay youth.

Schools and other education institutions also have a responsibility to address these needs. In the same way as they have developed equity policies and practices to prevent racist and sexist behaviours they will be required to develop the same to counter homophobic behaviours. To do this, they will need to create an environment and a curriculum where issues concerning gay and lesbian students can be discussed, where relevant and appropriate information and guidance can be given.

So let's go back to the profile. Do I fit in here? Most? Some? Not at all? OK, I think I fit. Now what? The first and perhaps most vital step is to find information. If you are lucky enough to live in an urban area, write to or telephone Lesbian Line, Gay Switchboard, Icebreaker groups. These are all listed in the personal columns of major daily papers and telephone directories. Write down the questions you want to ask, rehearse them in your mind. If you live in a small town, don't panic, use the telephone books (available at local post offices) of urban centres and write to them to ask for the information you would like. These groups are used to protecting people's identity and are aware of your very real need for knowledge. Remember, knowledge is empowering.

The greatest issue facing gay and lesbian youth is mental and physical health which comes from a positive and affirmed identity. Taking care of ourselves means being proud of who we are and living in a caring community that deals with sexuality in an informed, rational and positive way.

—Jude Rankin and Shane Town
Spokespeople for GLEE (Gays and Lesbians
Everywhere in Education)

Fascism on the rise says Bolshevik club

Fascism is creeping out of the woodwork in New Zealand. The National Front is active in Christchurch, and has visited Victoria University with posters (these were torn down by the Bolshevik Club without delay). A visit by David Irving is also on the cards. Irving is an apologist for the Nazis (although he prefers "historian") and is a supporter of the British National Party (BNP). A lecture-tour of New Zealand by Irving could be a boost for the far right unless he is thwarted at every opportunity.

It's part of a worldwide trend. In France, Le Pen's National Front is gaining ground. The BNP, having prepared the ground propaganda, has won an east London council seat! Throughout Europe attacks on immigrants have resulted in numerous deaths. Jews and left groups have been attacked in Australia. New Zealand is not immune.

Fascism represents hatred and violence, not ideas. Their rallies are not about reasoned debate, they are about organising for violence. Every fascist demonstra-

tion allowed to go by unopposed increases the belligerence of the wanna-be stormtroopers.

We cannot rely on the state and its police force to halt the growth of fascism - after all it was a police baton that killed New Zealander Blair Peach at an anti-fascist demonstration in London in the 1970s. The working class and groups under attack need to unite in self-defence. A concerted mass effort to break up public fascist manifestations of any kind is necessary.

The need for united anti-fascist action is relevant today, even in New Zealand. If Irving visits New Zealand it will be necessary to organise to stop his fascist message. Fascists must be smashed and humiliated. Their obscene rallies should be scattered; their banners, flags, insignia and leaflets should be torn from them; they should be sent home bruised and disillusioned.

If you want to help fight fascism, contact the VUWSA Bolshevik Club, PO Box 9671, WELLINGTON.

Youth Environment Conference

Possibly one of the best things that came out of the Suffrage Centennial Celebrations was the *Young Women and the Environment* conference, which was held at Palmerston North Girls High over the weekend of 20-21 November. Around 40 students attended, selected from secondary schools around the country. For many, it was the first contact they'd had with people active or employed in environmental issues.

Speakers included women who were working within government agencies, such as Katie Mayes from the Ministry for the Environment and Kirsten Woods (Ngati Hauiti) from Office of the Parliamentary Commission, but also, maybe more importantly, they had an opportunity to listen to representatives who were working for non-governmental organisations.

These included Kirsty Hamilton of Greenpeace, Katie Brown from the Wellington Rainforest Action Group, Cath Wallace of ECO, and Pauline Ngan and Linda Roderique from SEAN (Student Environment Action Group). There were also representatives from other related areas, such

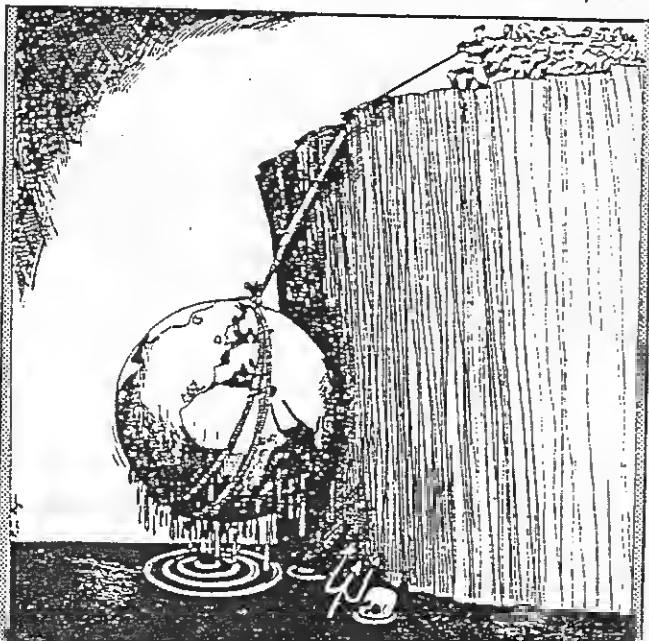
as population issues, peace and nuclear considerations and the media.

The general feeling to emerge from the gathering was that students were thrilled to meet other young women whose values were so similar. They were very enthusiastic about going back to their schools and communities to get involved in doing something positive. Many of those who were introduced to AYN are interested in staying in touch with a large youth information and support network. SEAN, as a network which is specifically schools, and specifically environmental issues, also sparked a lot of interest.

In the meantime, as suggested at the beginning of the conference by the organisers, a resolution has been drafted for submission to the Ministry of Youth Affairs, and the United Nations. It outlines concerns that young people have about the environment, including the necessity for environmental education in the school curriculum, the importance of youth being involved in environmental decision-making, for youth to retain control over their own organisations and to increase liaison with Government agencies.

For the most part, however, the young women made their own success of the conference, simply by talking to each other, swapping numbers and addresses, and discussing ways of turning concern (or outrage in some cases) into action. As well as campaigns that some attendees and speakers brought to the conference (such as Greenpeace's against the proposed Stratford power station), some people even thought up their own. One was to begin a campaign for "real news" instead of endless sports coverage and "human interest" stories, and another was to get supermarkets to encourage their customers to recycle their disposable shopping bags. There was also a proposal for an International Youth Day, and an acknowledged desire for further similar gatherings, and the funds to make this possible.

- Michael Ainsley



Dear AYN people

On behalf of CORSO, we are currently compiling a New Zealand Consumers Guide. The aim of this book will be to provide consumers with accurate and accessible information as to the practices of companies that sell their products and services here in New Zealand.

We hope to provide the "consumer with a conscience" with an all-in-one guide outlining exactly which companies are involved in such practices as: arms trading, animal testing, uranium mining, waste dumping, rainforest destruction, emission of greenhouse gases, ozone destruction, the creation and distribution of pornography, exploitation of Third World cheap labour and the deliberate maintenance of those countries' state of indebtedness, factory and battery farming, consistent blocking of the autonomy of indigenous peoples, etc.

We believe there is a significant number of people who may not necessarily seek out this sort of information for themselves, but who are likely to boycott such products if a concise guidebook were readily available.

If you have access to any information that may help us in this admittedly ambitious endeavour, we would be most grateful. As the contents of this book will be contentious in nature, we are very aware of the need for a high level of credibility. As such we would greatly appreciate if you would provide us with the sources of any information you send us. That way we can verify and update anything you send us for ourselves, and list our sources in the book.

We will of course be more than happy to send you any information you are interested in that we discover, as well as a copy of the guide. The current aim is to publish and distribute by late February next year.

To contact us please write to either the above PO Box, call us on (04) 384-1364, or if you have access to E-mail send to GAYE@WGTN.PLANET.CO.NZ

Yours sincerely

Gaye Dyson and Jacob Rawls

Tackling the Jobs Crisis by Roy Green

A RECENT ARTICLE BY ROY GREEN of the Newcastle University Employment Studies Centre in *Current Affairs Bulletin* (Sept. 1993) "Tackling the Jobs Crisis", examines both the phenomenon of unemployment and policies instrumental in its solution. Whilst the article is primarily concerned with the Australian economy, much of what is said is relevant to the situation here in New Zealand, especially as the recent election result looks to herald a swing away from the extreme monetarist policies and blind adherence to market forces which have been so fashionable in recent years.

Although New Zealand is apparently in the midst of the long awaited "recovery", economic forecasters predict no great reduction in the level of unemployment. In effect, what we are experiencing is a period of jobless growth, as large firms put their profits, not into expansion, but into recapturing the losses made during the investment boom of the late eighties.

Green is self-admittedly critical of free-market theories, which he claims carry no guarantee that the "optimum" level of output is also the level of full employment. He argues most effectively that, contrary to what many would have us believe, the present recession is not a direct result of overly generous rates—rather it is caused by a lack of demand, both for products and workers.

For New Zealand, presently debating the future of the controversial Employment Contracts Act, Green's comments regarding government legislation to stifle the power of unions and remove wage fixing institutions are of particular interest. He cites Britain as evidence that such legislation does not result in wage reductions across the board, higher income earners appear to be doing very nicely out of their increased bargaining power. A survey carried out by the British Department of Social Security over the years 1979-1990/1 shows that the share of total incomes going to the poorest 10% of house-

holds fell from 4% to 2% whilst that going to households at the other end of the scale, those earning above \$A1500 per week, rose nine-fold!

The dangers inherent in this widening of the gap between rich and poor are clear. Whilst the rich tend to accumulate excess funds for investment purposes, those less well off will spend any extra on goods to improve the quality of their lives, thus boosting the economy directly and creating demand, production and jobs...

Although recent governments have shown some commitment to reducing unemployment in the form of job training schemes and wage subsidies, Green contends that governments must go further and provide the jobs which are simply not forthcoming from the private sector. He is adamant that these jobs are not be some kind of "charity" scheme, rather they form a valuable contribution, which, as such attract a real wage.

Green presents a hypothetical example in which for \$A2 billion, a scheme targeting the long-term unemployed could create 207,000 jobs at award wages by channelling resources into projects of community value, and an estimated additional 32,000 due to "second round" effects in the private sector. That's a total of 239,000 jobs which, allowing for the increased tax take and reduced welfare spending would cost the government about \$A1.26 billion. Although this scheme was designed for Australia, its implications are equally exciting for New Zealand and should definitely be investigated further.

Such a scheme must of course be financially viable and Green goes into how this could be paid for fairly comprehensively. Unfortunately his arguments are too lengthy, and too full of economic buzz words to be reproduced here.

Unemployment is a complex problem and it is obvious that there is "quick fix" solution. We cannot rely on one school of economic thought to deliver us into relative paradise of full employment. Nor can we predict the long-term effects of such short-term measures as job creation schemes. However one thing is clear. If we want jobs in the future, we must start doing something about it now.

— Kate Andrews

IT IS AN UNDERSTATEMENT TO say that on election night the powers that be were somewhat surprised by the result. Shirtcliffe's multimillion dollar anti-MMP campaign was wasted, the National Party saw their huge majority slashed and Mike Moore was confused, first claiming victory, then almost conceding, and finally making a campaign speech.

The financial and corporate sectors were thrown into a panic. The victory of MMP and the prospect of a minority government distressed capitalists from London to Remuera. They were horrified by the prospect of a deadlocked government unable to continue with further New Right "reforms" to New Zealand's economy. Worse yet, business feared the possibility that some of the economic changes of the last nine years could even be reversed.

A representative of the Bank of Singapore explained the situation for business most aptly: "Markets were quite happy with [Government's] economic policies as they were and if anything, an indecisive situation or some sort of coalition government is going to mean great policy inertia. So if markets were happy with policies as they were, and it has become harder for those policies to change, then markets should not be as worried as they currently are." (Evening Post, 9 November 1993).

Both Labour and Alliance however were quick to calm the rattled nerves of the bourgeoisie. Anderton's performance in particular was eloquent. He carefully avoided referring to Alliance policies and made assurances that the Alliance is not a threat to the present order and intends to safeguard "the nation's interests" (i.e. business interests).

Now that the Alliance is in a position of influence, its "radical policies", used to attract votes, are quietly being shelved in order not to offend capital. For instance, when Mike Moore launched a "Five Point Plan" to form the basis of an anti-National coalition, Anderton dismissed the proposal, saying it was time for "calm and reason." In other words, it was time to appease business interests. The plan called for new elections under MMP, the repeal of the Em-

ployment Contracts Act, restructuring ACC, and the scrapping of health charges and the 26 week stand-down for the dole.

The election statistics are interesting reading. Despite the fact that Labour gained fifteen seats, it did not actually increase its portion of the vote. Labour held similar ground this election (34.7% of the vote) as in 1990 (34.5), when it was severely punished for six years of attacks on the working class. In fact the 1984-1990 experience was still haunting Labour, arch-Rogernomics Richard Prebble lost his Auckland Central seat.

The Alliance was the primary beneficiary of this working class movement away from Labour. The swing from Labour to the Alliance stopped Labour from winning key working class areas like Western Hutt. The Alliance popular front (a working class party, the New-Labour Party, in a coalition with anti-working class parties such as the Democrats, Liberals and Greens) also won a number of votes from the National Party. Clearly the Alliance is the party to watch, particularly after the victory of MMP.

New Zealand first also polled well with 8.3% and Tau Henare taking Northern Maori in a surprise result. Northern Maori rejected both Labour (straining the historic bond between Labour and Ratana) and Matiu Rata of Mana Motuhake/Alliance. They

opted for Winston Peters' vulgar nationalism instead.

The highlight of the evening was the victory of MMP, despite Shirtcliffe's massive "MMP eats babies!" campaign. The election result under an MMP system would have been National and Labour 42%, Alliance 22%, New Zealand First 10%. MMP is a positive reform allowing for greater political expression and discussion. However, it leaves capitalist power intact. Business interests will continue to dominate elections, and party leaders will still pander to capitalist powerbrokers as they did on election night.

With the present political situation being so delicate, now is the time to organise to fight the attacks of the last nine years. Workers, beneficiaries and students have paid for nine years of restructuring for greater profits. Now we need to unite in an effort to win key transitional demands. Repeal the Employment Contracts Act! Restore benefits! Scrap user-pays in Health and Education! No more asset sales!

The election was undoubtedly exciting but ordinary people—workers, beneficiaries and students will still have to organise to defend their interests and fight for a just society.

—Marinus La Rooij
VUWSA Bolshevik Club



Regardless of all other elements of the Employment Contracts Act, the refusal of its architects to extend minimum wage protection to workers under the age of twenty, is one of the greatest failings of the current industrial relations system. Last week a case was discovered of a hairdresser in Auckland paying a worker just \$40 for four weeks! Cases of young people being employed for less than a dollar an hour abound.

The youth coalition; a group of trade unions, youth workers (including church based) and students' organisations, is campaigning to remedy this situation. They have started lobbying the politicians and, using the "new world" of consensus politics to maximum advantage, are trying to get a multi party agreement on extending the minimum wage to people under the age of twenty. AUN members can help out too. The youth coalition organises pickets and boycotts of businesses who grossly exploit their workers. Get in touch with someone from the Service Workers Union or the National Distribution Union in your area and get them to keep you informed. Encourage anyone you know who has been exploited to come forward with their story (it can be anonymous).

As important as helping with the campaign with action is making sure that no one involved in the lobbying sells us out. The National Party are considering offering a deal which

would see minimum wage rates all the way down to age ten, but as proportions of adult minimum (which would stay at being fully applicable only at twenty). This would almost certainly see youth pay rates being introduced by many employers who currently don't have them.

A minimum wage indicates that wages below the level established as a minimum are recognised as being exploitation. Why should a young person be able to be exploited simply because they have not turned twenty or eighteen, or whatever? Equal pay for equal work is accepted as fair by all but the loony right wing. A young person doing the same job as anyone else should be paid the same wage!

They youth coalition is going to be setting up a nationwide list of people who can be contacted by young people, anonymously if they wish, to report cases of exploitation. The employer may be able to be prosecuted for harsh and oppressive employment conditions. Certainly such information will help the campaign for statutory protection for young people, and to help punish unscrupulous employers.

Get in touch with Robert Winters (Service Workers Union), Bridget Inder (YWCA), or Alastair Shaw (NZUSA), all based in Wellington, if you want to be involved, or contact your local branch of any of these organisations.

Further, most multinationals are based in the wealthy North, and this combines with the overwhelmingly superior bargaining power of the world's richest states to make a joke of this formal equality.

The only real enforcement of GATT codes is the threat of trade retaliation, which richer and bigger countries alone can wield effectively. If necessary, US military superiority can also be brought in as a powerful bargaining chip, in the form of protection, the withdrawal of protection or, in the last resort, direct intervention.

Earlier rounds of GATT negotiations introduced limited liberalisation of trade, which did not help developing countries. At the US insistence, agriculture was excluded from all previous GATT deals, and protectionism was kept in place for the trade in textiles through the Multi-Fibre Arrangement. These arrangements prejudiced exports from the developing countries. Since the formation of GATT in 1948, the US has not hesitated to flout GATT codes when it suited its interests. In fact it has a special trade law, Section 301, which allows it to identify "unfair trade" practices and retaliate. As a December 15 deadline for US Congressional approval for the new draft treaty approaches, pressure is building in the US Congress for this power to be strengthened.

—Peter Boyle

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WHY GATT DOESN'T MEAN "FREE TRADE"

PAUL KEATING'S VISIT TO THE US PUT A CRACK IN the myth that the uncompleted Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks was really about bringing in a new era of global "free trade". His discussions with the US President Bill Clinton revealed that embryonic new regional trade blocs like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Asian Pacific Economic Agreement forum (APEC) are not alternatives to a successful completion of the GATT talks—rather they will overlay any new GATT regime.

Keating's plea was for the integration of the APEC with NAFTA to form a great trans-Pacific trading alliance which could confront the European Community (EC).

An impression has arisen that the main point of the new GATT treaty was to end the trade war in agricultural exports between Europe and the US. This is because all that holds back the conclusion of the Uruguay Round is the French government's refusal to accept a November 20 deal (Blair House Accord) between the US and the EC on farm subsidies. Indeed, the GATT negotiations would probably have been completed on schedule in 1990 if not for this disagreement, which has resulted in a ruthless trade war in subsidised wheat exports.

The impression that the Uruguay Round of GATT has a lot to do with freeing the trade in agricultural products has been deliberately fostered by the media monopolies in order to sell it as a "win-win" outcome for the countries of the North and the South.

Under the new GATT deal, the conservative *British Economist* magazine claims, the rich world would agree that trade in farm products, making up one-tenth of world exports, and trade in textiles (a mere one-twentieth) should be gradually freed from protection. In return, poorer parts of the world would open their markets to imported services (the fastest growing trade sector) and recognise intellectual property rights (mainly held by Western and transnational corporations).

This is a very one-sided trade-off.

If the Blair House Accord is ratified by France, it will barely free world trade in agricultural products. In any case, over the 1980s, most Third World countries became net importers of food as they restructured their economies under International Monetary Fund (IMF) supervision. They will be hit in the first instance by a rise in their bill for food imports.

According to Solon Barraclough, the author of *An End To Hunger? The Social Origins of Food Strategies*, research into the likely effects of agricultural trade liberalisation is sobering for the world's hungry.

If only the developed countries liberalised their agricultural trade, "this would have no significant impact on poverty and hunger, and if anything the effect is adverse." If the developing countries removed their agricultural trade barriers, there would still be a slight increase in world hunger, although a few countries of the South, such as India and Kenya, might gain.

The countries of the South are also unlikely to gain

much more guaranteed access to the markets of the wealthy countries for their manufacturing goods from a successful outcome of the GATT talks. Powerful countries have reserved the right to retaliate with trade restrictions in the case of alleged "dumping" in their markets. In addition, they have also developed a series of bilateral "voluntary" agreements with their main trading partners to control trade in manufactures.

At the beginning of this year, the US has 47 such arrangements covering steel imports, car and semiconductor imports from Japan, imports of machine tools from Brazil, Germany, South Korea and other countries.

Finally, the US and Western Europe are putting in place regional trade blocs, like NAFTA and the EC, to further control trade with their main partners.

These regional trade blocs cement in place the relations of power between the participating nations. Under the draft NAFTA agreement, for instance, while capital, good and services are free to cross borders, Mexicans will not be allowed to enter the US so freely. The agreement will also maintain the existing labour and environmental codes in each country. Thus Mexican workers will continue to enjoy poorer working conditions, wages and rights to organise, and factories in Mexico City will continue to give it the world's worst air pollution.

The development gap between the US and Canada is far from that between either of these countries and Mexico, yet the narrower version of NAFTA (between the US and Canada), which has been in operation for three years, is unpopular with the great majority of Canadians.

The *Economist* estimates that a successful completion of the Uruguay Round would mean an extra \$100 billion a year in wealth created, but does not add that most of this will be appropriated by the world's biggest corporations, and at the expense of the South. Author Raghavan Chakravarthi argues that the new GATT treaty will advance the process of recolonisation of the South begun in the 1980s via IMF-dictated programs to address the debt crisis.

"While there may be some conflicts between the US, Europe and Japan," says Chakravarthi, "they have a shared interest in achieving changes to the trading system to stem rising competition from the Third World." The real point of the new GATT deal is to extend the control of transnational corporations over the global economy. This will be done by:

- Guaranteeing "equal treatment" for multinational companies.

- Limiting the right of governments to impose health and environmental regulations that may affect trade. In general, no GATT signatory will be allowed to set standards higher than other signatories. (This is a source of major criticism of GATT by environmentalists.)

- Opening the market for services (eg., financial, communications and transport) to multinationals.

- Forcing the recognition of "intellectual property rights", including the patenting of plant and animal species.

Supporters of the new GATT deal claim that these measures are fair because, theoretically, they apply to rich and poor countries alike. But the poor countries are in no position to bargain after their economies have been restructured, supposedly to export their way out of debt.

— Continued on page 14

This issue has been produced in Wellington as the usual compilers travel away from the Web Resource Centre in Dunedin. Thanks heaps to all the people who have helped out, especially Jo Buchanan and Amy Rountree. This issue, like future issues will be, has only been distributed to those who have paid their subscriptions. If you have friends who haven't, then you might want to get on to them to get in touch with us.

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The newsletter will still be sent to anyone who can't afford to pay; just write to us and let us know. Donations beyond the above rates from people who can afford them are welcomed, to pay for those who can't.

Arohanui

Alistair Shaw (For the issue 6/Wellington collective)

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What's Coming Up?

AYN meeting in Palmerston North to establish group:
10 December at 5.00pm in the Kiwitea Lounge at the Massey University Students' Association. For details or more information, contact Steve Collett on (06) 357-4121 (at MUSA).

AYN Activist Training Camp:

To train people with skills to train other people.
Tentatively proposed for May 1994. More discussions about this at Waihopai.

Waihopai Women's Camp:

30 December-7 January at the Waihopai spy base. Contact Billie-Jo and Cathy at 60 Winton Street, CHCH, or phone (03) 379-4205.

Waihopai Camp:

6pm 28 til noon 30 January. Contact the Anti Bases Campaign, PO Box 2258, Christchurch.

AOTEAROA YOUTH NETWORK

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